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SOURCE Nan-fang Jih-pao.

DECISIONS OF CENTRAL AND SOUTH CHINA BUREAU
ON STUDY FOR CADRES NOW IN SERVICE

Since the Southeast and Central China areas have been liberated, our great task now is to carry out reconstruction and rid the area of results of the KMT's feudalistic and reactionary policies.

In the face of this great task, however, our cadres are weak and experienced cadres are in the minority. While they have experience and a knowledge of the principles of the party, they are lacking in system. They manifest a serious leaning toward experientialism. The new cadres are the new corpuscles of the movement; they are enthusiastic; they learn rapidly, but they are deficient in knowledge of policy and theory and they have not been refined in the crucible of revolutionary struggle. They are eager to progress and can be reformed. They must be relieved of their old ideas and habits before they can be of use to the country and the people. This is to say that the level of our cadres' thinking in the matter of theory and policy must constantly be raised to realize the various objectives before us. It is apparent, then, that our most important present responsibility is to study. Chairman Mao has said that many of the things with which we are familiar are about to become outmoded, and many of the things with which we are unfamiliar are pressing for solution. We must become thoroughly familiar with Marxist-Leninist theory and Mao's ideas to carry out our sacred mission.

We, therefore, most earnestly exhort all our party members and cadres in the area to exert themselves to the fullest extent in study, and to institute a great study movement. All working party members and cadres who are high school graduates standing must study the revolutionary policy and theory of Marx and Lenin and of Mao. Those who are not junior high school graduates must give attention to studying culture and science.

In the study of theory, they must become familiar with the contents of the 12 books designated by the Central Committee as "Required Reading for Cadres." They must also study Mao's Chinese Revolution and the Chinese Communist Party,

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New People's Democracy, Theory of Coalition Government, The People's Democratic Dictatorship, and other works of his. The order of study may be as follows: A Brief History of the Growth of Society, Political Economics, Imperialism: The Highest Stage of Capitalism, and the last 4 chapters of The History of United Communism. The first theoretical study should be The Construction of a Socialist Economy; the second, Foundations of Leninism, State and Revolution, Left-wing Communism: An Infantile Disorder, and the first 8 chapters of The History of United Communism; and finally, Communist Propaganda, The Evolution of Socialism from Utopia to Science, and the Theory of Thought Method. The items in the writings of Marx, Engels, Lenin, and Stalin concerning China and the four large works of Chairman Mao should be sandwiched into the three groups of studies in order to integrate closely the theory studied with the expansion of Marxism-Leninism in China as represented in Mao Tse-tung's ideas. This order of study is, by and large, according to a scientific development of economic, political, and scientific thinking. The student may rearrange the subject matter according to the requirements of his work and scholastic development. Some books should be studied over and over and integrated with the student's own experience.

For the study of policy, the following shall be considered basic material: the 24 documents ordered by the Central Committee of the CCP, the report of the Hsin-hua Agency on the CCP Plenary Session of 23 March 1949, the Common Program enunciated by the People's Political Consultative Conference, the directives of the central government and the party and the important publications of the Hsin-hua Agency, the Jen-min Jih-pao and the Ch'ang-chiang Jih-pao.

A distinction should be made between the General Line (Tsung Lu-hsien), the General Policy (Tsung Cheng-tse), and other materials. The first two are required material for all party members and cadres; other materials may be used according to the requirements of the various lines of work in which the students are engaged. Selection may be made on this basis by the various provincial and municipal party committees.

Those who are not yet graduates of junior middle schools should give attention to cultural studies such as national language, mathematics, history, geography, and general natural science. Without these the general level of theory and policy cannot be raised and modern techniques acquired. To regard general culture lightly is a mistake.

In addition to the study of theory, government, and culture, all cadres must study their work in accordance with the principle of learning what one is doing in order to raise their level of skill. The content of the study should be determined by the larger organizational units. New party members should study the rise and history of the party. Basic material should include party rules, reports of revision of party rules, publications of party members concerning self-improvement for party members, etc.

For purposes of study, party members may be divided into four groups. In the first group may be those with advanced knowledge of theory and experience in revolutionary struggle such as local committeemen, special administrative commissioners, and teachers. The chief study for this group will be theory integrated with policy. Texts will be the prescribed 12 books, the works of Mao on economics, the last four chapters of the history of the unification of the party and the second volume of The Construction of a Socialist Economy. These must be thoroughly studied. The method of study will be on an individual basis, followed by group discussions. Each individual will prepare a study schedule for himself and give a copy to the study committee and the branch organization.

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The second group is made up of those who are good students with experience in revolutionary struggle, such as hsien and corps cadres (Presumably Youth Corps). Of these city administration cadres will study theory integrated with policy and rural cadres will study policy integrated with theory. Because of the need for study of theory, those portions of the 12 books which deal with the foundations of Leninism and volume II of Political Economics will be especially emphasized. The method of study will be on individual basis with reports submitted on their study and (where conditions permit) group discussions.

In the third group are those with ability to study and some experience in work, such as cadres in older liberated areas on the ch'u level, and novices in revolutionary work. Cadres in official positions in towns and country, with a view to rectifying their thinking, will place emphasis on the history of the growth of society and Mao's four large works. The method will be individual study with hearing of reports and group discussion. They will study their own thinking and working habits in comparison with those mentioned in the documents.

Rural cadres and those working among the city masses will study policies having a special bearing on their own work combined with the theory of the Chinese Revolution. If, after some time, they have not been able to devise a satisfactory method of study, the authorities should give special attention to the matter. The amount and urgency of their work, and their being widely scattered in various areas, as well as a lack of books will make study difficult. Hence, they may choose for themselves individual study. Group study, or meetings for a discussion of conclusions, in which they may take turns in correcting each other's ideas. In other words, when alone, they will study for themselves, and, when together with others, they will discuss their studies. There should also be periodic conferences for special help on particular problems. It will be necessary for leaders to give strong personal leadership to this group.

The fourth group will consist of cadres who are not junior middle school graduates. They will give special attention to cultural studies, reading of newspapers, and discussion of present policies. In various places special classes may be organized, or special schools for off-duty hours with a systematic curriculum to enable them in 2 or 3 years to meet the standards for their work.

In all this study and training, there must be a real integration of theory with practice, and the students must manifest a real progressive spirit with a determination to make themselves as fit as possible for their responsibilities.

The first period of study under the above plan will be for one year, taking into account local conditions in cities, factories, and rural areas, conditions of work, and weight of responsibility of the students. Those in charge will have to adapt the training to fit these conditions.

All party members and cadres, especially leadership cadres in the Central and South China area must give attention to theory. It is entirely wrong to stress only the practical. Ever since the party purged the doctrinaires, there have been those who regarded opposition to doctrinaire principles as meaning no study or very little. From this one-sided view has risen the idea of dependence entirely upon experience for guidance. True, theory must be combined with experience, but the greatest peril to the party today is its neglect of theory and its dependence upon experientialism. A great deal of damage to the work of the party has resulted because of this. The general standard of the knowledge of theory must be raised in the party. Mao Tse-tung has made it clear that without this it will be impossible to accomplish the purposes of the revolution.

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Leadership cadres above the provincial level, especially, must follow this line. The history of all our defeats shows that they resulted not from lack of work, but from lack of leadership, and from leaning to the right or the left. What has been accomplished today has not been done without work, but it has resulted even more from the wise advice of such a leader as Comrade Mao. All our leadership cadres, especially those in the upper echelons, must emphasize theory and lead by their own example. All leadership cadres must complete the study of the 12 required books and Mao's works within 3 years.

Study must be regarded as the most important feature of the political life of the party, and be enforced by all committees. Thought education and leadership must be placed upon the highest pinnacle in the party. Educational committees should be organized everywhere on all levels and all propaganda cadres should regard the promotion of this phase of work as very much within their responsibility. All leading government organs have a responsibility to provide equipment and funds for promoting this education program and to see that problems involved are solved, or pass them on to higher levels for solution. Provincial and municipal propaganda cadres may try a program of correspondence school education.

A standard of at least 2 hours a day of study should be maintained with rewards for good work and demerits for poor work. Promotions should be based upon willingness to study and success attained in it.

The Central and South China Bureau hopes that 1950, which marks the complete liberation of the country and which is the first year of peaceful reconstruction, will also see a great upsurge of the spirit of study in this area.

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